2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

the recent changes in religion and ritual. In doing so, the story of the renaissance of culture which took place among the Pawnee under the stimulus of the Ghost Dance was pieced together. In presenting this material I have described the developments against the background of Pawnee history since white contact. This serves to bring to light the motivations and influences which were stimulants of change. And in reference to the new forms which developed I have concentrated on the Ghost Dance hand games, the most important in terms of the emphasis made by the Pawnee themselves. The controlled consideration of the games in their changing forms has made it possible to consider the meaning of processes of change, and the inevitability of founding ethnological methodology on a metaphysic of history.

The field work among the Pawnee, of which this study is a specialized part, was carried out under a project supported by the Columbia Council for Research in the Social Sciences. This manuscript was in part prepared while I was Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies. In addition to published material, I have had the use of unpublished materials of James R. Murie, in the form of a manuscript by George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie, which was made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. Dorsey and Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum of Natural History; and I was also able to refer to a Bureau of Ethnology manuscript on the Ceremonies of the Pawnee, by James R. Murie, which was at the time being linguistically revised by Dr. Gene Weltfish. The use of these materials proved invaluable, not only for the work which has resulted in the present study, but also for the consideration of Pawnee religion which I hope to present in another year.

I cannot close these remarks without acknowledging my indebtedness to Professors Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict of Columbia University, who gave me the opportunity to make the field studies on which this work is based. I am also obligated to many Pawnee friends, and particularly to my chief informant, Mark Everts, a rare mind and a hearty friend, and Henry Chapman, whose help was important in this and other work. My wife, Dr. Gene Weltfish, has cooperated with me in countless ways. But most of all, I must express my intellectual obligations to Professors Franz Boas and John Dewey. For many years I have believed their conceptions of method to be basically in harmony, and in my own thought and work I have leaned heavily on their teachings.

October, 1932. Alexander Lesser.

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FOREWORD

A program of scientific research has not reached a successful conclusion until the results obtained are made available in the literature of the profession. Publication thereby becomes an important factor in the progress of any field of knowledge. However, in anthropology as elsewhere, a manuscript containing valuable data may remain unpublished after the death of its author. In the past few years Field Museum has published two such manuscripts: that of Edward H. Thompson on the High Priest's Grave at Chichen Itza, prepared for publication by J. Eric Thompson; and Berthold Laufer's work on the origin and spread of the potato, prepared by C. Martin Wilbur.

The present report by George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie on the Skidi Pawnee, edited by Alexander Spoehr, is an addition to this list. The funds enabling the authors to undertake the necessary field research were originally made available by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, to which acknowledgment is here made for its ready co-operation in granting the right of publication to Field Museum.

PAUL S. MARTIN

[p. 70 is blank]

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NOTES ON SKIDI PAWNEE SOCIETY

I. INTRODUCTION

From 1903 to 1907, George A. Dorsey, then Curator of Anthropology at Field Museum, received a series of grants from the Carnegie Institution of Washington for ethnological field work among the Caddoan tribes. Much of the investigation was carried on among the Pawnee, during which time James R. Murie was associated with Dorsey. The interest which Murie, himself a Pawnee, took in recording the culture of his people, and his perseverance in collecting the fast-vanishing ethnographic data relating to his tribe, are deserving of special mention. On the basis of the information gathered in the field, Murie and Dorsey commenced the preparation of a monograph entitled "Society and Religion of the Skidi Pawnee," though unfortunately the manuscript was never completed. Murie's later report on Pawnee societies (Murie, 1914) duplicated certain parts of the unfinished memoir, while other details were incorporated in four articles by Ralph Linton on various aspects of Pawnee ceremony and religion (Linton, 1922a, b; 1923a, b). The section of the manuscript dealing with society was very briefly summarized by Dorsey (Dorsey, 1907b) but until now it has not otherwise appeared in print. During the course of its preparation for publication, I found it necessary to make considerable literary revision, but the facts have not been changed. The orthography of the Pawnee words is the same as that used in the manuscript. Editorial comments on various points in the text appear in brackets.

The last decade has seen a revival of interest in the Pawnee. Recent anthropological work has more fully elucidated the history of the tribe, and our perspective has been correspondingly deepened and enriched. However, there remains a lack of published ethnographic data on the Pawnee which seriously handicaps comparison with other Plains tribes and retards the definition of problems relating to Plains Indian social organization. On a purely descriptive level, the present notes are a step toward filling out the incomplete picture. They deal briefly with social groupings such as the band, village, and family; with kinship; the major crimes and their punishment; class distinctions; and the individual life cycle, which is accorded a fuller treatment than the other sections. John B. Dunbar (1880a, b), Fletcher (1899), and Lesser (1930, 1933) have discussed some of these aspects of social organization, but the

[p. 72 is blank]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

127 *low Cave.* As chairman of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Nebraska, he welcomed me to his laboratory where I worked from 1954 to 1958; during this period he gave unstintingly of his time and knowledge, going over my material and taking me to many of the archaeological sites where the Pawnees and their predecessors are known to have lived. He and his wife, Flavia Waters Champe, most generously welcomed me to their home during that time. I also acknowledge with profound thanks the unfailing help and support of my former student and now colleague in the science, Carol King Rachlin.

I received substantial help at all times from the staff of the Nebraska State Historical Society—Mr. Marvin Kivett, Director, Dr. W. D. Aeschbacher, Dr. Donald Danker, Dr. White; Prof. James C. Olson of the History Department of the University of Nebraska; Virginia Faulkner of the University of Nebraska Press; and Mari Sandoz and her sister Flora, who entertained me at the ancestral home and made me really understand the value and the beauty of the Nebraska sandhills. I have also been aided and abetted by the Missouri River Basin Surveys group of the Smithsonian Institution in Lincoln, under the direction of Dr. Robert Stephenson, one of whose Missouri River excavations I was privileged to visit and there enjoyed his cordial hospitality. My friend Mrs. Rella Looney of the Oklahoma Historical Society was most helpful to me during my stay in Oklahoma City recently.

In 1954 I had the opportunity to visit the Pawnee again. My return was gladdened by the hospitality of Blanche Matlock, her daughter, Bessie (now Mrs. Delbert Hor.e Chief), and the grown-up grandchildren of my now departed first informant and mentor, Stacy Matlock; Walter Keyes, his wife Norah, and their daughter, Alma, who had married Basil Chapman, son of my interpreter, Henry Chapman (recently deceased); and my friends, Andrew and Eulah Eschelman, together with her sister, Pauline Murie, one of my close personal friends now living in Wichita, Kansas, and the Echohawk family. I was also welcomed by Mrs. George Roberts and Dolly Moore and, on a subsequent visit, Mr. Henry Roberts, Chief of the Pawnee Council, and his wife. My return to Pawnee was a deeply moving experience because of the profound effect my work there has had on my life and the warmth with which I was received into the community.

During the years after 1932 I received a great deal of support from my colleagues in anthropology. The late Prof. William Duncan Strong, who did pioneering work in Nebraska archaeology, was a constant source of psychological and intellectual support in his unfailing interest over the years. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Prof. Charles Wagley of Columbia for his many years of active interest and encouragement. In this connection also I wish to thank Dr. Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., recently retired Director, Bureau of American Ethnology.

122 From 1958 to 1960, as a Fellow of the Bollingen Foundation, I have

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

been the recipient of a grant that made the writing of this book possible; I would like particularly to mention Miss Nancy Russ and Mrs. M. Curtis Ritter of that organization. To my sister, Florence Goldin, Director and Vice President of the Grey Advertising Company, I want to express my gratitude and deep appreciation for support far beyond the call of sisterhood in all ways, including financial when it became necessary. 122

During the summer of 1963 I have had substantial assistance in rearranging the manuscript from my colleague at Fairleigh Dickinson University, Prof. Andrew H. Drummond, talented producer and dramatist.

Madison, New Jersey GENE WELTFISH
October 1964

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BIBLIOGRAPHY

114 THE BULK OF THE MATERIAL presented in this book is based on the original field
• 122 data I collected from Pawnee informants in Oklahoma. It is the only material on the Pawnees that was gathered with a full knowledge of the nature of the
197 Pawnee language. The Pawnee language cannot be readily translated into English. Structurally it is one of the most complex of the American Indian languages. In place of single discrete words, a structural form known as polysynthesis was developed to an unusual degree. In normal discourse there are long composite word units comprising a wide range of functional elements—verbal, prepositional, adjectival, pronominal, and modal—each capable of a range of modifications, the whole complex being phonetically integrated so that a single word of inseparable elements contains the meaning of a long phrase or sentence in English commonly only translatable into five or six separate English words. Although a single word phrase of this sort may have ten or eleven syllables, it is not possible to assign an equivalent English word under each syllable. The meaning can only be stated as a whole. By careful comparison of a large number of these phrases, it is possible to find the various locations within the phrase that have different functions and to extract elements with generalized meanings. Those interested may refer to my Pawnee text with its grammatical analysis: "The Vision Story of Fox Boy," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, IX No. 1 (1936), 44-75.

114 In the last decade of the nineteenth century, an educated half-blood Pawnee,
159 James R. Murie, made it his life purpose to present the religious rituals and ceremonies of his people. He carried forward this work under the stimulation and direction of a number of anthropologists, continuing through the first and second decades of the twentieth century. He spanned both cultures—the Pawnee and the American. To some extent this was a major advantage, while in other ways it was an important obstacle to the accomplishment of his true purpose. The most obvious advantage was his direct entrée to the religious leaders of his people. The disadvantage lay in the fact that he had a preconceived idea of how the material should be presented to the American reader and scholar in order to place it before them in the best possible light. There was little need for such a self-conscious effort as Pawnee religion and ceremony would do credit to any people ideologically and aesthetically as a system of thought and practice. Secondly, because Murie had shared in both cultures before he came to the decision to embrace his Pawnee identity, he never fully shared in its systems of belief. In his later years he attempted to obtain a religious vision and to enter more fully into Pawnee religious life, but he failed and remained by
[122] and large a participant observer, not a full participant. His preconceived idea of the nature of translation, particularly of the interlinear variety, stood in the way of his making an authentic translation of the Pawnee materials he wrote

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

and permitted me to concentrate on the personalities involved and the way they functioned within the pattern. Death claimed James R. Murie before my work began, and I never had the good fortune of meeting him. 114

In the years since the late 1930's I have read a great deal of material on the Pawnees. I visited the archaeological sites, read the literature, and consulted with the outstanding archaeologists in the field. I also worked with historical sources at the Nebraska Historical Society in Lincoln, Nebraska. In addition I have given considerable thought to a number of expanded horizons for our own future that are suggested through a consideration of the Pawnee way of life. I have listed a number of bibliographic items that refer to these different facets of interest, listing them under four categories—archaeological material, ethnology, historical sources, related subjects and theoretical questions. I will not make specific references to my text in connection with these publications as the presentation in this book represents a synthesis of all these sources along with my own. [122]

Archaeology (A) Ethnology (E) History (H) Theoretical Subjects (T) 113

(H) Adams, James Truslow. 1943. *Atlas of American History*. New York: Scribners.

(H) Allis, Samuel. 1887. "Forty Years among the Indians and on the Eastern Borders of Nebraska," *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, Vol. 2, 133-196.

(H) ———. 1918. See Dunbar, John B.

(H) *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*. 1813. Pp. 501-503. Baltimore.

(E) Bogoras, Waldemar. 1902. "The Folklore of Northeastern Asia Compared with That of Northwestern America," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., IV, 577-683.

(E) Benedict, Ruth F. 1923. *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America*. ("Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," 29.) Lancaster.

(H) Bolton, Herbert E. 1911. "The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650–1771," *Texas Historical Association Quarterly*, 15, No. 1, 66-84.

(H) ———. 1914. *Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768–1780*, Vol. I. Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company.

(H) ———. 1915. *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*. ("Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration, University of California Publications in History," Vol. III.) Berkeley.

(H) ———. 1916. *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542–1706*. New York: Scribners.

(H) ———. 1949. *Coronado: Knight of the Pueblos and Plains*. Albuquerque: Whittlesey House and University of New Mexico Press.